1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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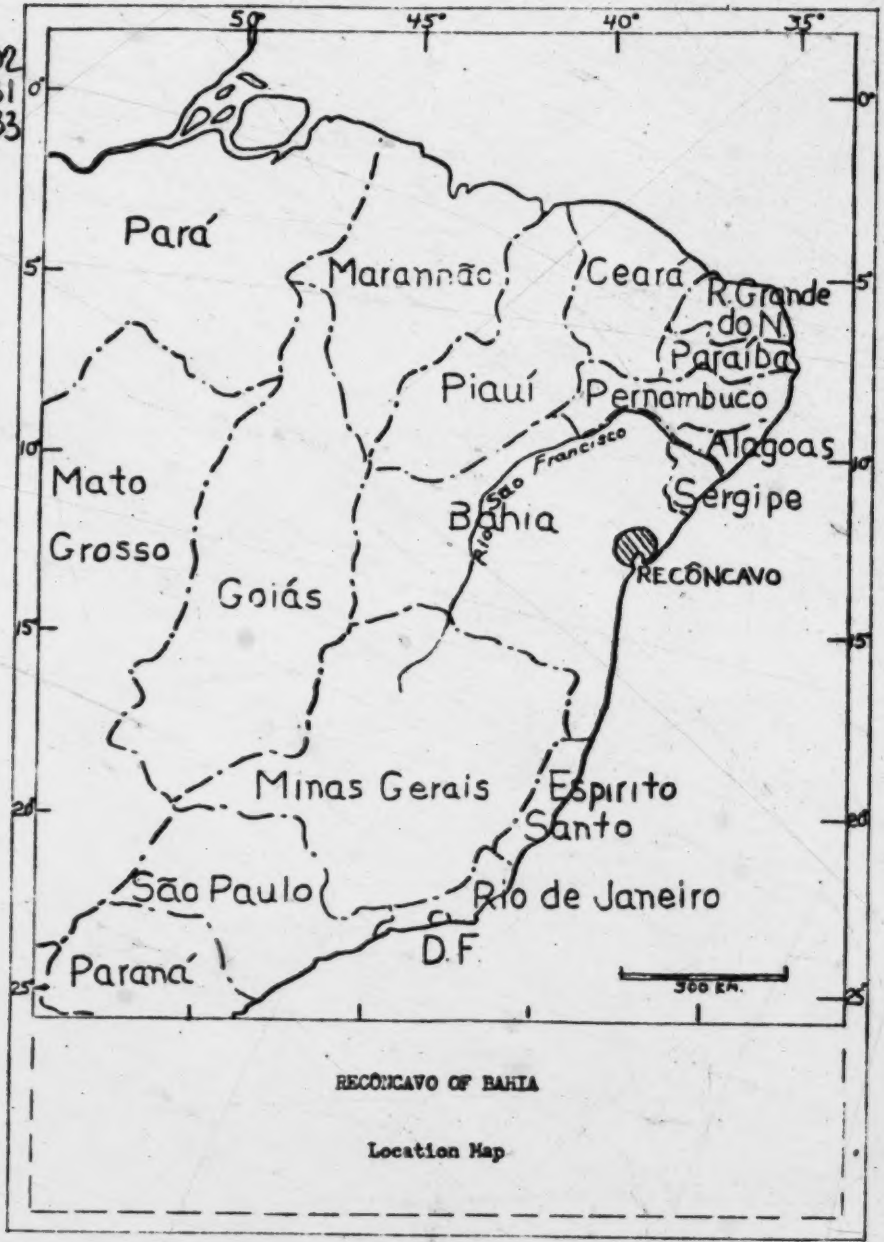

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Location Map

MAP 1

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[13] [101] Regional Terminology. The term "o recôncavo" can be applied to any crescentic littoral. In Brazil, however, "the Recôncavo" is almost universally understood to refer to a semicircle of land bordering the Baía de Todos os Santos in the state of Bahia. It is no more necessary to ask which Recôncavo in Brazil than to ask which South in the United States.

The Recôncavo has a less consistently defined content and boundary than the United States South. The extent of the area intended is individually determined in both common and scholarly usage--usually the limit of the region is implied rather than delineated. In traditional usage the Recôncavo generally is equated with the sugar cane area, but at least as often the area designated includes all the relatively densely settled and intensively utilized zone around the Baía de Todos os Santos.

[121] [131] In delimiting the Recôncavo as a preliminary to field and statistical investigation it seemed desirable to enclose all areas which may customarily be included in the region. In addition, since the Recôncavo is conceived here primarily as an agricultural region, it seemed most consistent to include all other contiguous areas of equivalent agricultural utilization. Thus a search was made for a criterion for a tentative boundary which would circumscribe: (1) the traditional Recôncavo areas; and (2) the contiguous areas of equal agricultural intensity; and which in addition would (3) define the limit on a consistent statistical basis. These three requirements would be met with a boundary determined by the per cent of the land in agricultural use--a criterion which would summarize the intensity of land-use for [127] cultivation, fallow, and pasture. Appropriate data were available from the 1940 census. By inspection it was determined that twenty per cent [311] of the total area in agricultural use was the value of an isopleth which would enclose the traditional and equivalent areas and would

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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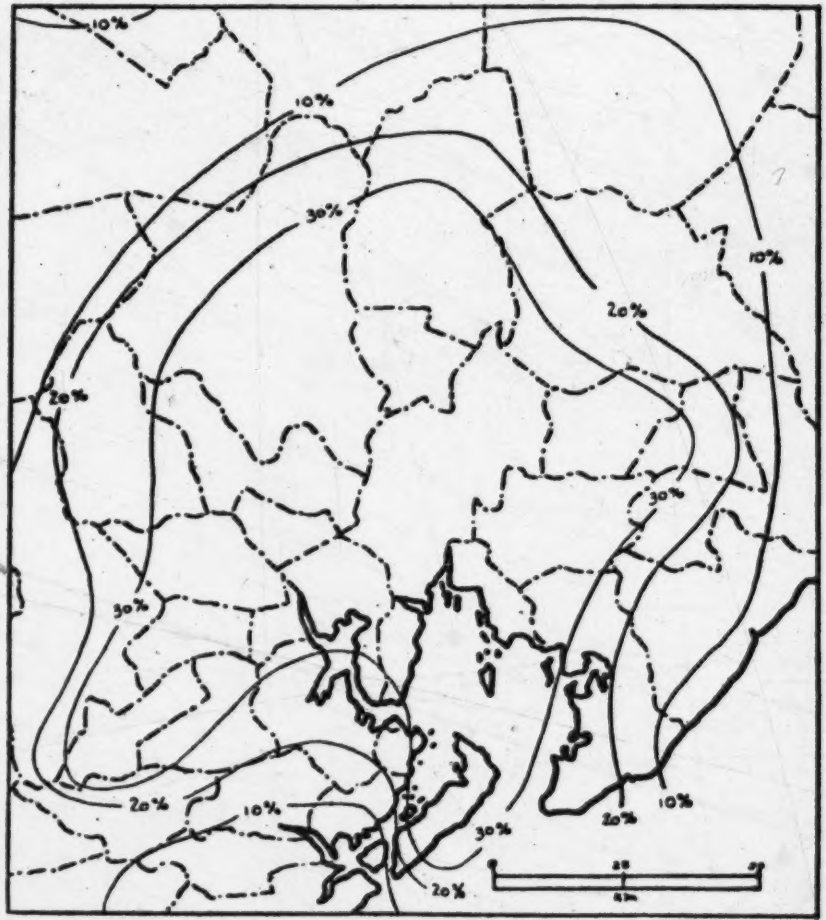

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Area in Agricultural Use—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia. Vol. II.

MAP 2

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

121 separate them from the manifestly non-Recôncavo areas of the surrounding
13 zone. This limit of twenty per cent of the total area in agricultural
311 land use corresponded rather closely to the outer boundary of a compact group of twenty-one municípios, and as a tentative regional concept, these twenty-one municípios were considered to be the Recôncavo.[5] The area of the region thus defined is 4,827 square miles (12,500 square kilometers), about equal to the size of the state of Connecticut.

121 Purpose and Procedure. The primary purpose of the research upon
241 which this monograph has been based was to analyze, from a geographical point of view, the structure and the functional organization of agriculture within the Recôncavo. It is not within the present scope to make a detailed comparison of the agricultural patterns of the Recôncavo with those of the rest of the nation. However, because of the general unity of the Brazilian agricultural system and the special relationship between the Recôncavo and the origins of the system, a study of the agriculture of the Recôncavo microcosm is a study of many of the basal aspects of Brazilian agriculture.

241 Very little literature is presently available on the agricultural
127 patterns of the Recôncavo. Certain general characteristics of the agriculture of the region may be deduced from the brief interpretations of maps of the 1948 production of sugar cane, tobacco, and manioc in the state of Bahia published by the Conselho Nacional de Geografia.[6] Indirect information may be gleaned from the general economic and agricultural histories of Brazil and from the sociological studies of the Brazilian northeast.[7] But comprehensive analysis based upon field or statistical study of the geographical patterns of agriculture of either the state of Bahia or of its nuclear region, the Recôncavo, are lacking.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Município Boundaries—1968

Source: Conselho Nacional de Geografia, "Cartograma da Divisão Administrativa do Estado da Bahia."

MAP 3

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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Bahia. The broad cluster of the agricultural labor force is composed of several major zones of concentration and two minor agglomerations.

(1) The Southwestern Concentration: The most important of these concentrations, in terms of total number of agriculturalists, occupies the southwestern corner of the Recôncavo. This concentration is a major segment of the eccentric belt discussed above. It is located [131] in the Crystalline Uplands and the Intermediate Hills, along the drainage divide between the Rio Paraguaçu and the Rio Jaguaripe. This is an area of tobacco and manioc cultivation. There are some 35,000 agriculturalists in this concentration, which spreads over approximately 1,000 square kilometers in six municípios—São Félix, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, Conceição do Almeida, São Filipe, and Maragogipe. The cidade of Cruz das Almas lies very near its center.

TABLE IX

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS—SOUTHWESTERN CONCENTRATION

[634]

Município	Distrito	Agricultural Workers 1950
São Felix	São Felix	2,568
	Outeiro Redondo	1,724
Muritiba	Muritiba	3,044
	Cabeças	1,699
Cruz das Almas	Cruz das Almas	6,038
	Sapé	1,845
	Baixa do Palmeira	1,476
Conceição do Almeida	Conceição do Almeida	3,878
	Comércio	2,038
São Filipe	São Filipe	4,931
	Cararipe	2,471
Maragogipe	Guapira	1,169
	Nagé	788
	Coqueiras	1,072
Approximately 1,000 square kilometers		34,741

With about 12 per cent of the Recôncavo's total area, the southwestern concentration includes 18 per cent of its agricultural labor force. In its core there are over forty agriculturalists per [634] square kilometer (the município of São Félix as a whole has 42.05 per square kilometer), and this compact core includes São Félix, northern

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

São Filipe, northern Conceição do Almeida, southeastern Cruz das Almas, and the southeastern tenth of Muritiba.

The boundaries of this concentration are similar to the boundaries of labor concentrations in other parts of the western Recôncavo. To the southeast the density of the cluster declines sharply across the Intermediate Hills. There are very few fields and few farmers along the estuary of the Paraguaçu, which lies beyond the hills. Much of this land is in forest. To the west the decline in density is even more abrupt. In the dry caatinga beyond the western limits of Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and Conceição do Almeida there are only a few scattered ranchers and small-scale farmers.

From the core of the concentration the distribution of agricultural workers continues to be relatively dense toward the north and toward the southwest, and this pattern extends across the "bridge" zone and into the coffee area beyond the Recôncavo. Just beyond the Recôncavo, in the middle of the "bridge," is the city and suburban zone of Santo Antônio de Jesus, which has a minor cluster of agricultural workers. The "bridge" follows the forest and scrub-forest transition.

(2) The Northern Concentration: Though the northern and central clusters of the agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo are less well defined and individually less important than the southwestern cluster, they are major concentrations. In the northern Recôncavo a series of clusters extending through eastern Feira de Santana, Irará, and Coração de Maria are grouped in a rough "u-shaped" pattern. This concentration is the second major element of the eccentric belt of dense agricultural labor. The verticals of the "u" follow agricultural belts along the valleys of two tributaries of the (eastern) Rio Pojuca. This is a zone of Tabular Upland and caatinga vegetation.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

161 162 241 464 131 Because it does not correspond to census divisions, it is difficult to determine the area and population of this "u" zone. Apparently it has about 1,150 square kilometers and about 30,000 agricultural workers (Table X). Maximum densities within this zone are 30 to 40 per square kilometer.

TABLE X

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS--NORTHERN CONCENTRATION

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Município	Distrito	Agricultural Workers 1950
Feira de Santana	Feira de Santana	9,840
	Tiquaruçu	1,725
Coração de Maria	Coração de Maria	4,176
	Itacava	4,332
Irará	Irará	4,130
	Bento Simões	1,675
	Pedrão	2,454
	Ouriçangas	2,683
Aproximately 1,150 square kilometers		31,015

The "u-shaped" zone is linked with the southwestern cluster by a belt of moderate population density. This belt, running north to south along the caatinga-forest transition, is followed by the Feira de Santana-Cachoeira railroad.

161 162 241 464 131 (3) The Central Concentration: The central concentration of agricultural labor, in east-central Santo Amaro, western São Sebastião, and São Francisco--the sugar cane zone, is not a part of the eccentric belt discussed above, but rather lies in the heart of the Recôncavo. There are about 6,000 agriculturalists in the 300 square kilometers of this area. The maximum density is about 25 per square kilometer. In distinction to the concentrations discussed above, the central cluster is in the lowlands--the humid Coastal Plain. (see Table XI).

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

TABLE XI

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS--CENTRAL CONCENTRATION

Município	Distrito	Agricultural Workers 1950
Santo Amaro	Rio Fundo	1,849
	Inhatá	1,542
	Mata de Aliança	920
São Sebastião	Jacuípe	1,036
São Francisco	São Francisco	804
	Santa Elisa	176
Approximately 300 square kilometers		6,327

(4) The Minor Agglomerations: Minor concentrations of agriculturalists surround two urban centers in the Recôncavo: Salvador and Alagoinhas. Most of the 12,000 agricultural workers in the município of Salvador are grouped either in the northeast--close to the central cluster of the sugar cane zone--or around the capital city. The latter either live in the city or in the sub-urban areas around and between the various urban segments. These sub-urban cultivators primarily work to supply the large urban market. Alagoinhas lies in the midst of relatively unproductive taboleiros. The agriculturalists who serve its urban market and produce its chief commercial crop--oranges--are gathered compactly in a symmetrical ring around the city.

The concentrations discussed above account for some 80,000 (41 per cent) of the agricultural workers and 3,150 square kilometers (25 per cent) of the area of the Recôncavo. In general, a straight line from the southwestern tip of Conceição do Almeida to the southern tip of Serrinha is the western limit of moderately dense distribution of the agricultural labor force. Beyond this line, in the caatinga of Feira de Santana and Castro Alves, there are few agricultural workers. However, in the caatinga of the município of Santo Estêvão and the adjacent part of Feira de Santana there is a zone with a population density of about 15 per square kilometer--higher than anywhere

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

else along the western border. This modest concentration, scarcely a cluster, represents the sum of a number of small agricultural settlements scattered along the humid slopes of low serras. There are about 12,000 agricultural workers distributed over this area.

The distributional pattern of the rest of the Recôncavo can be visualized as a coarse net in which the clusters are linked by areas with population densities of 10 to 20 per square kilometer. There is one large hole in this connecting net: along the common border of Cachoeira, São Gonçalo, and Santo Amaro there is a zone with less than ten and sometimes less than five agricultural workers per square kilometer. This zone, very near to the center of the Recôncavo, for the most part is an area of rough sandy hills bordering the crystalline. Here the hills are particularly rugged and the transition zone broad. On three sides--southwest, north, and northeast--this sparsely settled zone is bordered by important clusters of agriculturalists.

The agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo is, as has been seen, irregularly distributed. This distribution is highly fluid--movement and growth and decline are continuously altering the pattern. The whole region gained about 6,500 agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950, but these statistics do not reflect the extent of local relocation.

In the central Recôncavo one município, Santo Amaro, lost almost 6,000 agricultural workers between 1940 and 1950, and in three municípios of the central and eastern Recôncavo, Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and Pojuca, losses exceeded 20 per cent. On the other hand, in three municípios of the uplands of the northern and northwestern Recôncavo--Alagoinhas, Feira de Santana, and Santo Estêvão--there were gains of over 20 per cent. Over all, twelve municípios gained and nine lost agriculturalists; the mean change in the agricultural labor

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 120]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 464 As has been shown, the 196,000 agricultural workers in the Recôncavo in 1950 formed a relatively distinct cluster within Bahia. [131] These workers were concentrated especially in an arcuate belt near the western and northern frontiers, in the sub-urban zone of the larger cities, and in the central sugar zone. They were in complex motion, the net result of which was to reduce, in the decade 1940 to 1950, the agricultural labor force in the Central Recôncavo and to increase the labor force near the cities and along the western frontier. The labor force generally is adequately skilled for the agricultural tasks of the present system, but its tolerance for new ideas is [461] limited. The agricultural workers can work cheerfully and hard, but usually do so only with frequent interruptions, and the individual level of energy is low.

162 241 464 463 Rural Population. The agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo is a functionally but not residentially distinct segment of a larger population assemblage, the rural population. Rural population, as used here, includes not only the people of the countryside but also the village and town dwellers of all settlements without industrial establishments.[28] Although this assemblage can be defined in approximate residential terms as a rural population, it is considered here primarily as a functional grouping which includes agricultural workers and elements of all other major occupational groups except industrial workers. In this overwhelmingly agricultural society the associations of the non-agricultural occupational groups of the rural area with agriculture are of primary economic importance and compelling personal interest. While most of the agricultural workers are rural in the strictest sense, living in the countryside and on the fringes of the villages, towns, and cities, many others live within the small and

The railroad from Salvador to the interior passes about 15 kilometers east of Vila Recôncavo, and the planters situated near it experience the same difficulties of horseback travel when getting the train to go to the city.

There is no public transportation within the county. The train is so far from the town of Vila Recôncavo that it is not used by the town dwellers. Most of the population walks to wherever it is going, except to Salvador. Few people in town have horses or mules, for there is insufficient pasture nearby. As a result of the poor roads, the townspeople are dependent upon water navigation, a factor which helps to orient them to other towns by the water's edge and discourages communication between the town and the plantations of the interior of the county. At any season, there is little happening in the plantation area to attract the townspeople. On the other hand, people from the plantation come to the town, especially to see the doctor, for a special Mass, or to take the boat to Salvador. They rarely come for the movie, except those few subsistence gardeners (roçeiros) who live nearby, for travel is too difficult. During the dry season almost all transportation of goods is accomplished by an ox-drawn cart (carro de boi) with two large, solid wooden wheels drawn by eight oxen (junta de boi). The cart is driven by a man, and the oxen follow a small boy who walks in front of them.

The community of Vila Recôncavo comprises an area of some 80 square kilometers in the shape of a semicircle, bounded on one side by water and on the other by a high ridge. This area, which includes the town of Vila Recôncavo, forms a natural as well as a cultural unit. The remaining 100 square kilometers of the county fall into two subregions, one very small area which is oriented toward Centro and Cana-Uba (see map), and another which is strongly oriented toward Salvador. The three areas are drawn together by local administration: police, school system, tax collecting, and the collection of statistics--in other words, by the formal structure of county administration.

The 80 square kilometers of the community of Vila Recôncavo are composed almost entirely of thirteen large plantations, eleven of which are devoted to the cultivation of sugar cane. Of the other two, one plants cane on a small scale and rents most of its land to subsistence gardeners, while the second is a summer home, producing nothing. Of the eleven which plant sugar cane, six belong to the sugar factory which

2: Hutchinson E-4,8 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

438 Centro, situated on the banks of a navigable river which
175 empties into the Bay in front of the town of Vila Recôncavo,
361 was in a good position to serve the entire back region of the
Recôncavo. As a county it now comprises 1,180 square kilo-
(634) meters. As a port, Centro served two purposes in the early
[131] eighteenth century. A great deal of produce and many persons
passed through it, including the families of sugar-cane grow-
(504) ers from other regions of the Recôncavo; and it also served
as a "gateway to the West" at a time when western Bahia and
Minas Gerais were being opened and the gold and diamond
rushes were in progress. Centro was the end of navigable
(487) waters and the beginning of one of the overland routes lead-
ing to the uplands of the sertão and the mining areas of the
(634) west. As Centro grew, Vila Recôncavo stagnated. In 1833
Centro was made judicial center (cabeça de comarca) of the
district and Vila Recôncavo became part of this judicial dis-
trict, thereby losing its prominence as the center of juris-
diction for the interior zone of the Recôncavo. Commercially,
Vila Recôncavo was soon overshadowed by Centro. In 1802,
Vilhena wrote:

> . . . In Centro there is a great deal of commerce, because of the amount of sugar, tobacco, and the number of distilleries and of Mineiros [miners and people from the state of Minas Gerais] who arrive there. Continuing along the bank of the river one finds Vila Recôncavo, which in spite of enough sugar passing through it, always had a weak commerce, and the town is known among all the others as the town of the least traffic.[8]

He says later:

175 In spite of its antiquity, Vila Recôncavo has few in-
361 habitants, and most of them poor, although through-
438 out the termo there are many good families of noble
433 people, rich through the products of their large engen-
hos, from which they take much and excellent sugar,
the only commerce of that town; in it also there is fish-
ing for a little sardinelike fish called xangó and a large
quantity of good and large shrimp, which is the main

8. Ibid., Letter I, p. 32 (author's translation).

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In the very large *usinas*, the mill hands and even the field hands are modern industrial workers. They are employees of a large industrial corporation and are protected at least theoretically by the labour laws of the nation. The highly personalized relationship between the plantation workers and the owner-administrator of his own plantation, which persisted from the slave era, has been replaced on the larger *usinas* by the impersonal employee-employer relationship of the modern industrial age. Today, modern plantations and small towns have electricity; there is modern housing for workmen; the State and even the sugar companies provide medical aid; there are primary schools both in the small towns and on many plantations; recreation facilities are found in the towns and provided by the *usinas*; and the sugar-cane experimental station situated in the area constantly urges fertilization of the land and modern techniques and methods of sugar-cane production. But the older and more traditional patterns exist side by side with the new, and each of them influences the relations among the racial groups of the zone.

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III. Vila Recôncavo is a small town on the Bay of All Saints. The rural area around it, which lies within the social and economic orbit of the town and which is the unit under consideration, comprises some 80 square kilometres, or slightly less than half the entire area of the county of which the town of Vila Recôncavo is the county seat.[1]

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[634]

It this area there are 14 plantations, three of which nowadays plant very little sugar cane. Parts of the town itself are built on the land of one of these plantations, and the rest of the town area is owned in small lots by private individuals or by the Church. Although Vila Recôncavo is the county seat, local government is the only important function which it fulfils for the surrounding area. It is not used as a shipping point, either for receiving supplies from the outside or for sending sugar to the outside. *Braços do mar*, or inlets of the bay, go to many of the plantations and are deep enough for the *saveiros* (shallow draft sailboats) used on the bay for transport. Many of the plantations have direct connexion with Salvador. Commerce in Vila Recôncavo is almost entirely limited to supplying the 1,462 inhabitants of the town and of some small islands and of one community near by which is not devoted to sugar production. It is not the major supply source even for these groups which live near enough to another and far larger commercial centre where they prefer to do their marketing. The *prefeito* or mayor of the county is rarely a resident of the town itself. Rather he is usually a planter of the surrounding area. He goes into town to do municipal business,

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[1] Both the town and the county bear the name of Vila Recôncavo.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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[City of Salvador]

races, and the ensuing termination is perhaps most clearly discernible.

Bahia lies in the tropics of the Southern Hemisphere, approximately thirteen degrees south of the Equator, her naturally warm and humid climate almost constantly tempered by the refreshing Southeast Trades. Located seven hundred miles above Rio de Janeiro, the Brazilian capital, and four hundred miles below the old sugar center of Pernambuco, Bahia marks approximately the mid-point of Brazil's four thousand miles of coast line which stretches from temperate Uruguay to the torrid Guianas. Some twenty-five hundred miles to the northeast lie the Gold and Slave coasts of Africa, once the home of the parents or grandparents of many present-day Bahians; directly to the east is Angola, another important source of the city's population.

In 1949 Bahia will celebrate her four hundredth anniversary. As cities go in the New World, she is an old city; in fact, one of the very oldest. Permanently founded fifty-eight years before Jamestown and thirty-five years earlier than St. Augustine, this outpost of Portuguese civilization was one of the world's richest ports long before New York had outgrown her swaddling clothes.

Here, shortly after 1500, set in the Portuguese transplantation, at first composed of adventurers, shipwrecked and deserting sailors; *degredados* banished from Portugal for criminal, political, or religious offenses; ambitious young men chosen for physical fitness and freedom from marital ties to serve in the colonial garrison; impoverished nobles seeking to recuperate fortunes squandered at the Portuguese court; a few officials, Jesuits, and secular clergy; Jews expelled by the Inquisition (who incidentally were to furnish a considerable portion of the much-needed capital for the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 6]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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P OF SOUTH AMERICA SHOWING BAHIA AND SURROUNDING AREA

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

[City of Salvador]

In the lower city lies, of course, the port, with its customs, warehouses, shipping and consular offices, banks, the marine arsenal, the post office, the Association of Commerce, the principal public market, jewelry shops, hardware and cigar stores, and most of the men's shops of the city. Up on the promontory and extending out toward the suburbs are the public buildings and most of the churches, the convents and monasteries, hotels and movie theaters, the public library, museums, professional schools, primary and secondary institutions, hospitals, women's shops, photographic galleries, furniture and dry-goods stores, confectionary stalls, the "five and tens," physicians' and dentists' offices, clubs, the principal parks and *praças*, and the residential areas of the city.

Bahia the city is the economic and political capital of Bahia the state, whose area of 342,000 square miles makes it considerably larger than Texas. The region is composed in large part of a vast plain of gneiss formation which rises abruptly from the comparatively narrow coastal belt to heights varying from 600 to 1,200 feet in the interior. Upon this plateau and running north and south across the central portion of the state lie a series of low mountains composed principally of sedimentary rock, sandstone, or conglomerates and containing such minerals as iron, manganese, copper, lead, gold, and diamonds (including the black *carbonado* so essential for tool-cutting). This mountain barrier acts as a valuable condenser, gathering moisture for a land which otherwise might be virtually desert. In the extreme western part of the state the plateau is composed of sandstone overlying limestone, and thus it provides a natural sponge which assures perennial rivers in a region where light rains and near drought alternate in six-month periods.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Outside the city of Bahia and skirting the rim of All Saints Bay lies the Reconcavo,[1] some sixty miles long and varying from a few to thirty miles wide. Its soil is a cretaceous marl of great thickness, similar to the black gumbo of southern Arkansas and northern Texas, known locally as *massapé* or, in literal translation, "that which sticks to the feet." It is quite fertile and well watered and today appears only slightly impaired after nearly four centuries of cultivation. This is the cane and tobacco area upon which formerly both Bahia's commercial greatness and her need for reliable agricultural (hence slave) labor was based.

The Reconcavo was formerly a center of large landholdings, of a rural aristocracy, of a patriarchal system, and of slavery. Today, cane and tobacco are still cultivated, although the former, and to some extent the latter, languish by reason of the condition of the world-market and the persistence of primitive techniques of production. Although large landholdings are still common, the rural aristocracy is decadent, its prestige having suffered a gradual but persistent decline throughout the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries with the loss of the sugar monopoly, the growth of the coastal towns, and the accompanying increase in prestige of the urban professional classes. The abolition of slavery in the late nineteenth century was the final blow, and absentee ownership is now the predominating pattern. However, the present population is more dense in the Reconcavo than elsewhere in the state outside the city of Bahia and remains to this day markedly negroid in character.

[1] The literal meanings of the Portuguese word *reconcavo* are (1) a bay of semicircular shape and (2) the environs of a city. These two meanings appear to have fused in the Bahian use of the term.